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the sun, sinking in a flood of golden fire, presented, in beautiful relief, the dark clumps of pine trees, which seemed pencilled out on their summits. A herd of cattle at this moment came down to water, and as they loitered listlessly in the glassy stream, seemed to share with man, in the tranquil feelings of the scene and hour. The ferryman's broad straw hat, and light canoe, now appeared; and as we paddled swiftly by these many little island-bowers, towards the glowing west, fancy may be pardoned for half sketching a passage to the Elysian fields, or enchanted gardens of Italian romance. The blaze of sun-set had mellowed into the purple tints of evening, before we reached the opposite shore: I proceeded by moonlight to the Cedars—p. 92.

Here we would stop, had not the author, as if to convince us how little this poetic description cost him, by the recklessness with which he mars it, added—

‘Where I procured tea, by knocking up a civil landlord, and the next morning went on to Coteau-du-Lac.’ p. 92.



ART. X.—*An Account of the History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations who once inhabited Pennsylvania and the neighbouring States. By Rev. John Heckewelder. From volume I of Transactions of the Historical and Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia. pp. 347. Philadelphia, 1819.*

THERE is probably no part of the world that furnishes so few objects to connect us with antiquity, as that which we inhabit. Every thing about us, excepting only the works of nature, is of recent origin. Every thing to be found of human art, and every trace of human existence relates almost wholly to the present generation. Beyond the period of the discovery and settlement of this country by our European ancestors, a date but of yesterday, we have neither written history, nor, except some faint and confused traditions, memorials of any other description. To penetrate beyond that date into the past, is almost as difficult as to unveil the secrets of the future. All is dark and uncertain.

It is even difficult, after a period of only two centuries, to obtain a very precise idea of the condition of the country and its inhabitants, at the time of its discovery and occupation

by our ancestors. The whole face of things is changed. A new world has been almost created. Every thing about us is in a state of progression and revolution. A whole race of people has become nearly extinct, and a universal forest has yielded to the abodes of civilization. We are not, like other cultivated countries, surrounded by the monuments of the dead, nor do we merely succeed to the dwellings left vacant by our fathers, but we are now more numerous, than all who are in their graves ; and it is a remarkable law of our growing population, that so long as the present ratio of increase continues, the living will forever be more numerous than all the dead. The present therefore, with us is always overwhelming the past, and throwing it into insignificance and obscurity.

It is however an inquiry of some interest, to ascertain something of the history, character and condition of the race of men who were, but a short time ago, the proprietors and sole occupants of this vast country. Aside from any considerations arising from their peculiar character, it should be enough to attract us to the inquiry, that they were a part of the human family, left indeed with but few of the lights of experience and means of cultivation, but on that account furnishing an opportunity to observe the natural power of the understanding in a condition in which it is destitute of nearly all the means of instruction. They are also naturally associated, from the place of their actual residence, with the scenes in which we take the greatest delight. We ought therefore carefully to collect every thing that remains to us, that can serve to make us acquainted with this unfortunate people, whose fate it has been, like the morning dew, insensibly and mysteriously to disappear, before the lights of civilization and christianity.

The work before us is devoted to this subject. It consists of an account of the traditions, manners and customs of the Indians of the Lenni-Lenape, or Delaware nation, drawn up by a careful observer, who had resided among them many years in the character of a christian missionary. He begins with the history of the emigration of this nation to the shores of the Atlantic, from the western extremity of the continent, as it is furnished by the traditions still preserved among them, and carefully collected by the author from their own mouths. We shall not go into any disquisition upon the probable truth of this tradition, or upon the very difficult

question, when and how the solitude of this vast continent was first disturbed by the introduction of men and animals into it, because the inquiry would not be likely to lead us to any satisfactory result. We will however give the outlines of this narrative, as it may serve to fill up in the mind of the reader, a chasm in our history, until it is supplied by something more authentic.

They relate that their ancestors, many hundred years ago, resided in a very distant country, in the western part of this continent. For some reason that is not explained, they determined to emigrate in a body towards the east. After a long journey, of many years' continuance, they arrived on the banks of the Namæsi Sipu, or Mississippi. Here they met the Mengwe, or Iroquois Indians, since called the Five Nations, who were also from a very remote region, and bound on a similar pilgrimage with themselves. Their spies brought them intelligence that the country east of the Mississippi was inhabited by a very powerful nation, called Talligewi, or Alligewi, who had many large towns on the Alleghany or Ohio, and the other rivers that flowed through their country. These people were remarkably tall and stout, and some of them had the stature and strength of giants. They had built regular fortifications or intrenchments, the ruins of which still remain, to excite the curiosity of travellers and antiquaries. The Lenape sent a message to the Alligewi, requesting permission to settle among them. This was refused, but leave was granted them to pass through the country, and seek a settlement farther eastward. But after they had begun to cross the Mississippi, the Alligewi, perceiving how numerous they were,—for they amounted to many thousands,—made a furious attack upon them, and threatened with destruction all who should cross the river. The Lenape were enraged at this unexpected treachery, and resolved on revenging it. They united with them the Mengwe, and the two nations declared war against the Alligewi. Great battles were fought, and many warriors fell on both sides, but of these transactions few details are preserved. The enemy strengthened their fortifications, and entrenched themselves in their towns. No quarter was given—hundreds of the slain were buried in the same grave, or laid together in piles and covered with earth—and the Alligewi at last, after a war of many years, became so reduced, that to escape entire destruction, they abandoned the country, and

fled down the Mississippi, to a region from which they never returned. The conquerors divided the country between themselves—the northern part in the vicinity of the lakes and their tributary streams being assigned to the Mengwe, and the southern, bordering on the Ohio, to the Lenape—and they lived in peace for a period of some hundred years.

In process of time, the two nations having become exceedingly numerous, some of their huntsmen and warriors crossed the Alleghany mountains, and having discovered some of the streams that flow towards the Atlantic, followed them, partly by land and partly by water, until they reached the Susquehannah river, and finally Chesapeake Bay, and Delaware and Hudson rivers. Some of these adventurers returned to report to their nation the rich discoveries they had made,—a vast country abounding in fruits and game, without owner or occupant, and where the beasts of the field were the only savages. The nation considered this as the country destined for them by the Great Spirit, and immediately began to emigrate thither. The removal to so great a distance was an arduous enterprize, and could be accomplished only by small bodies at a time, on account of the difficulty of procuring provisions. But at length about half the people of the Lenape nation settled themselves on the banks of the Hudson, the Delaware, the Susquehannah, and the Potomac. Another portion never crossed the Mississippi, from a dread of the enemy whom they must have encountered before entering the land of promise, and still another portion, the smallest of the three, remained in their new habitations upon the Ohio.

That part of the nation who seated themselves upon the shores of the Atlantic, again multiplied with great rapidity. They were divided into three tribes, two of which extended themselves principally along the sea-coast, from the Hudson to the Potomac, and the third, called the Minsi, or Wolf tribe, settled in the interior, extending to the Hudson on the east, to the sources of the Delaware and Susquehannah on the north, and towards the southwest far beyond the Susquehannah. These three tribes formed the main body of the nation, called the Delawares; but from these sprung many other tribes, who emigrated in different directions, whithersoever their fancy led them, and assumed distinct names, though they retained their affection for the parent stock, of whom they were always proud to be denominated the grandchildren. The

Mohicans were one of these tribes. Choosing to live by themselves, they crossed the Hudson river, and finally spread themselves over the whole country of New England. The Nanticokes, in like manner, proceeded to the south, and settled in Maryland and Virginia.

The Mengwe extended themselves along the lakes towards the east to the borders of the Ontario and St. Lawrence, and were still the neighbours of the Lenape. At length they became jealous of the superior prosperity of their ancient allies, and they treacherously attempted to excite quarrels between them and some of the distant tribes. In this design they so far succeeded as to involve the Lenape in a bloody war with the Cherokees. The artifices of the Mengwe were however soon discovered. On this account, and because they were known to eat human flesh, and to kill men for the purpose of devouring them, the Lenape determined on taking an exemplary revenge, and even extirpating them from the country. War was openly declared, and hostilities were commenced with vigour. On this alarming occasion, the Mengwe, who had until this period acted as distinct and independent tribes, entered into a firm confederacy, and engaged to make a common cause, and to unite their forces for the common defence. Hence the name of the Five Nations, and afterwards, on the admission of a new member to the confederacy, the Six Nations. This union was formed some time in the 16th century, or about one age before the Dutch entered the Hudson. A most bloody war was still carried on for a long time, between the confederates and the Delawares, in which the Lenape say that they were generally victorious. In the midst of this war, the French landed in Canada, and the Mengwe, who were unwilling to permit them to establish themselves in the country, were soon involved in still more threatening hostilities on that side. They were soon obliged to retire before the French from the shores of the St. Lawrence, to the interior, where on the other hand they were exposed to the attacks of their ancient rival and enemy.

To extricate themselves from this state of imminent peril, they resorted to a deep laid stratagem, if we may rely upon the accounts given by the Lenape themselves, supported, as Mr. Heckewelder thinks, by a great variety of circumstances which he relates. Whenever hostilities between any two Indian nations are brought to a close, the peace is effected by

the intervention of the weaker sex. For men to sue for a termination of the war would be regarded as an act of cowardice. It is not becoming, say they, for a warrior with the bloody weapon in his hand, to hold pacific language to his enemy. But in the other sex, compassion and tenderness are virtues even in the eye of an Indian, and it is usual for them to act the part of mediators.

‘On these occasions,’ says our author, ‘they were very eloquent. They would lament with great feeling the losses suffered on both sides, when there was not a warrior, perhaps, who had not lost a son, a brother, or a friend. They would describe the sorrows of widowed wives, and above all, of bereaved mothers. The pains of childbirth, the anxieties attending the progress of their sons from infancy to manhood, they had willingly and even cheerfully suffered; but after all these trials, how cruel was it for them to see those promising youths, whom they had reared with so much care, fall victims to the rage of war, and a prey to a relentless enemy; to see them slaughtered on the field of battle, or put to death as prisoners, by a protracted torture, in the midst of the most exquisite torments. The thought of such scenes made them curse their own existence, and shudder at the idea of bearing children. Then they would conjure the warriors by every thing that was dear to them, to take pity on the sufferings of their wives and helpless infants, to turn their faces once more towards their homes, families and friends, to forgive the wrongs suffered from each other, to lay aside their deadly weapons, and smoke together the pipe of amity and peace. They had given on both sides, sufficient proofs of their courage; the contending nations were alike high minded and brave; and they must now embrace as friends, those whom they had learned to respect as enemies. Speeches like these seldom failed of their intended effect, and the women by this honourable function of peace makers, were placed in a situation by no means undignified. It would not be a disgrace, therefore; on the contrary it would be an honour to a powerful nation, who could not be suspected of wanting either strength or courage, to assume that station by which they would be the means, and the only means, of preserving the general peace, and saving the Indian race from utter extirpation.’ pp. 40, 41.

The artful Mengwe, by pacific professions and flattering representations prevailed on the Lenape to assume the character and office of mediators, and the appellation of *women*. It was represented to them as a magnanimous course, becoming a powerful and respectable nation. They were told that

as men they had been dreaded, and as women they would be respected and honoured. None would dare to attack or insult them, and as women they would have a right to interfere in all the quarrels of other nations, and to prevent the effusion of Indian blood. Persuaded by these flattering arguments, they laid down the arms and all the insignia of warriors, and engaged to devote themselves to agriculture and other pacific employments, to qualify them to act as the pacificators of the Indian nations. This determination was received with great joy, and celebrated by a splendid feast with appropriate ceremonies. The Lenape were installed in their new functions, speeches were delivered, and the great peace-belt—the chain of friendship—was laid across the shoulders of the new mediator, one end of which was to be taken hold of by all the Indian nations, and the other by the Europeans.

This transaction took place soon after the Dutch settled on the Hudson, and they are suspected of having been the inventors of this deep laid scheme for humbling the power of the Lenape. They were the friends and allies of the Five Nations, and their own possessions were in danger from the obstinate war that was carried on by the Lenape against them. The consequences were exceedingly humbling and injurious to the Lenape. The Five Nations treacherously represented to the English who came into the country, that they had conquered the Lenape in fair and open warfare, and had reduced them to the condition of women. They were therefore regarded as dependents and tributaries, and treated with little respect, while the alliance of the Five Nations was carefully courted. Their lands were encroached upon by the English with little ceremony, and the hostility of the Cherokees was again brought upon them by the treachery of the Five Nations. They were only prevented from taking up arms, and revenging these repeated injuries, by the constant arrival of the English, who encroached upon them in every quarter. This event engaged all their attention and exhausted all their faculties. Their whole time was consumed in fruitless deliberations on what they should do, and their awe of their new visitors left them no strength or vigour to attack their old enemy, whom they might have easily defeated. William Penn and his followers treated them with great kindness and friendship, and this kindness was reciprocated

by the Lenape. But the other English settlers treated them with great injustice, and seemed to enter into the views of their ancient enemy, who wished to destroy them. They were led by these repeated injuries to join the French in the war of 1756, during the whole of which they bore arms against the English. In the war of our revolution they took up arms on the part of the United States, in opposition to the Six Nations who were on the side of Great Britain. It was not until this war, that the Six Nations abandoned their absolute pretension of calling the Lenape women, and formally acknowledged that they were men.

This is a hasty outline of the traditionary narrative here given us. It is not our intention to go into an investigation of the claim set up in behalf of this nation, to be considered the parent stock of so many tribes, or of the general credibility of the narrative. It certainly contradicts many commonly received opinions relative to this people. None of the old writers that we have had access to, speak of the Delaware Indians as of any such relative importance and distinction. Nor do we find much to support the history here given of the Five Nations. The account of them by Colden, their principal historian, is entirely different. There are so many contradictions in the different authors who must be referred to as authorities on the general subject, that it is exceedingly difficult to form an opinion. That of the author before us is entitled to the greatest respect, and there are certainly many remarkable facts that are satisfactorily accounted for, upon the hypothesis which he assumes of the origin of the Atlantic tribes. The similarity of language throughout all these tribes proves some degree of relationship among them. This is further proved by their similar character, manners and customs. All the Indians along the Atlantic coast also had some confused notion that their ancestors sprung from the west. Roger Williams, in his 'Key into the Language of the Indians of New England,' printed in 1643, says, 'it is famous that the southwest is the great subject of their discourse. From thence their traditions. There they say, at the southwest, are their forefathers' souls. To the southwest they go themselves when they die. From the southwest came their corn and beans, out of the great god Cawtantowwit's field,' &c. Similar passages might be quoted from other authorities.

We shall close our notice of this part of the work by an extract of some length, in which the author relates, as nearly as possible in the language of an intelligent Delaware Indian, from whom he received it, the tradition existing among this people, of the first arrival of the Europeans among them. The event referred to is probably the arrival of the Dutch under Captain Hudson in New York harbour in the year 1609.

‘A great many years ago, when men with a white skin had never yet been seen in this land, some Indians who were out a fishing, at a place where the sea widens, espied at a great distance, something remarkably large floating on the water, and such as they had never seen before. These Indians immediately returning to the shore, apprised their countrymen of what they had observed, and pressed them to go out with them and discover what it might be. They hurried out together, and saw with astonishment the phenomenon which now appeared to their sight, but could not agree upon what it was; some believed it to be an uncommonly large fish or animal, while others were of opinion it must be a very big house floating on the sea. At length the spectators concluded that this wonderful object was moving towards the land, and that it must be an animal or something else that had life in it; it would therefore be proper to inform all the Indians on the inhabited islands, of what they had seen, and put them on their guard. Accordingly they sent off a number of runners and watermen to carry the news to their scattered chiefs, that they might send off in every direction for the warriors, with a message that they should come on immediately. These arriving in numbers, and having themselves viewed the strange appearance, and observing that it was actually moving towards the entrance of the river or bay, concluded it to be a remarkably large house, in which the Mannitto, the great or Supreme Being, himself was present, and that he probably was coming to visit them. By this time the chiefs were assembled at York Island, and deliberating in what manner to receive their Mannitto on his arrival. Every measure was taken to be well provided with plenty of meat for a sacrifice. The women were desired to prepare the best victuals. All the idols, or images were examined and put in order, and a grand dance was supposed not only to be an agreeable entertainment for the Great Being, but it was believed that it might, with the addition of a sacrifice, contribute to appease him, if he was angry with them. The conjurers were also set to work, to determine what this phenomenon portended, and what the possible result of it might be. To these and to the

chiefs and wise men of the nations, men, women, and children were looking up for advice and protection. Distracted between hope and fear, they were at a loss what to do ; a dance however commenced in great confusion.

‘ While in this situation, fresh runners arrive, declaring it to be a large house of various colours, and crowded with living creatures. It appears now to be certain that it is the great Mannitto, bringing them some kind of game, such as he had not given them before ; but other runners soon after arriving declare that it is positively a house full of human beings, of quite a different colour from that of the Indians, and dressed differently from them ; that in particular one of them was dressed entirely in red, who must be the Mannitto himself. They are hailed from the vessel in a language they do not understand, yet they shout or yell in return by way of answer, according to the custom of their country ; many are for running off to the woods, but are pressed by others to stay, in order not to give offence to their visiter who might find them out and destroy them. The house, some say, large canoe, at last stops, and a canoe of a smaller size comes on shore with the red man and some others in it ; some stay with his canoe to guard it. The chiefs and wise men, assembled in council, form themselves into a large circle, towards which the man in red clothes approaches with two others. He salutes them with a friendly countenance, and they return the salute after their manner. They are lost in admiration ; the dress, the manners, the whole appearance of the unknown strangers is to them a subject of wonder ; but they are particularly struck with him who wore the red coat all glittering with gold lace, which they could in no manner account for. He, surely, must be the great Mannitto, but why should he have a white skin ? Meanwhile a large *Hackhack** is brought by one of his servants, from which an unknown substance is poured out into a small cup or glass, and handed to the supposed Mannitto. He drinks, has the glass filled again, and hands it to the chief standing next to him. The chief receives it, but only smells the contents and passes it on to the next chief, who does the same. The glass or cup thus passes through the circle, without the liquor being tasted by any one, and is upon the point of being returned to the red clothed Mannitto, when one of the Indians, a brave man and a great warrior, suddenly jumps up and harangues the assembly on the impropriety of returning the cup with its contents. It was handed to them, says he, by the Mannitto, that they should drink out of it as he himself had done.

* Hackhack is properly a gourd, but since they have seen glass bottles and decanters, they call them by the same name.

To follow his example would be pleasing to him ; but to return what he had given them might provoke his wrath and bring destruction on them. And since the orator believed it for the good of the nation that the contents offered them should be drunk, and as no one else would do it, he would drink it himself, let the consequence be what it might ; it was better for one man to die than that a whole nation should be destroyed. He then took the glass, and bidding the assembly a solemn farewell, at once drank up its whole contents. Every eye was fixed on the resolute chief, to see what effect the unknown liquor would produce. He soon began to stagger, and at last fell prostrate on the ground. His companions now bemoan his fate, he falls into a sound sleep, and they think he has expired. He wakes again, jumps up and declares, that he has enjoyed the most delicious sensations, and that he never before felt himself so happy as after he had drunk the cup. He asks for more, his wish is granted ; the whole assembly then imitate him, and all become intoxicated.

‘ After this general intoxication had ceased,—for they say that while it lasted the whites had confined themselves to their vessel,—the man with the red clothes returned again, and distributed presents among them, consisting of beads, axes, hoes, and stockings such as the white people wear. They soon became familiar with each other, and began to converse by signs. The Dutch made them understand that they would not stay here, that they would return home again, but would pay them another visit the next year, when they would bring them more presents and stay with them awhile ; but as they could not live without eating, they should want a little land of them to sow seeds, in order to raise herbs and vegetables to put into their broth. They went away as they had said, and returned in the following season, when both parties were much rejoiced to see each other ; but the whites laughed at the Indians, seeing that they knew not the use of the axes and hoes they had given them the year before ; for they had these hanging to their breasts as ornaments, and the stockings were made use of as tobacco pouches. The whites now put handles to the former for them, and cut trees down before their eyes, hoed up the ground, and put the stockings on their legs. Here, they say, a general laughter ensued among the Indians, that they had remained ignorant of the use of such valuable implement, and had borne the weight of such heavy metal hanging to their necks, for such a length of time. They took every white man they saw for an inferior Mannitto, attendant on the Supreme Deity, who shone superior in the red and laced clothes. As the whites became daily more familiar with the Indians, they at last proposed to stay with them, and asked only for so much ground

for a garden spot, as they said the hide of a bullock would cover or encompass, which hide was spread before them. The Indians readily granted this apparently reasonable request ; but the whites then took a knife, and beginning at one end of the hide, cut it up to a long rope, not thicker than a child's finger, so that by the time the whole was cut up, it made a great heap ; they then took the rope at one end, and drew it gently along, carefully avoiding its breaking. It was drawn out into a circular form, and being closed at its ends, encompassed a large piece of ground. The Indians were surprised at the superior wit of the whites, but they did not wish to contend with them about a little land, as they had still enough for themselves. The white and red men lived contentedly together for a long time, though the former from time to time asked for more land, which was readily obtained, and thus they gradually proceeded higher up the Mahicanittuck, until the Indians began to believe that they would soon want all their country, which in the end proved true.' pp. 54—59.

The author relates in a pathetic style the complaints which the Indians make of the injuries which they have received from the Europeans. They admit that there are good white men, but say that they bear no proportion to the bad ; that the bad must be strongest, for they rule. 'They enslave,' say they, 'those who are not of their colour, although created by the same spirit who created us. They would make slaves of us if they could, but as they cannot do it, they kill us. There is no faith to be placed in their words.' The Virginians, whom they call the *Long Knives*, were the first settlers among them. 'We took them by the hand,' say they, 'and bid them welcome to sit down by our side, and live with us as brothers ; but how did they requite our kindness ? They at first asked only for a little land, on which to raise bread for themselves and their families, and pasture for their cattle, which we freely gave them. They soon wanted more, which we also gave them. They saw the game in the woods, which the Great Spirit had given us for our subsistence, and they wanted that too. Whenever they saw spots of land that pleased them, they took it from us by force, and drove us to a great distance from our ancient homes.'

From the *Dutchman* at New York, they received no better treatment. After fraudulently obtaining a grant of a large piece of land, instead of a very small one, which had been bargained for, under the pretence of planting greens for their

soup, they planted great guns, and built strong houses. ‘They then,’ say they, ‘went up the river to our enemies, the Mengwe, made a league with them, persuaded us by their wicked arts to lay down our arms, and at last drove us entirely out of the country.’

The English people who settled in New England, and whom, in their imperfect mode of pronunciation, they called *Yengeese*,—whence undoubtedly the appellation of *Fankees*,—were equally the subject of their complaints. The *Yengeese*, they say, looked about every where for good spots of land, and when they found one, they immediately took possession of it. By degrees they became possessed of their whole country, and the miserable remnants of their tribes were obliged to seek an asylum in remote countries.

How far our ancestors deserve censure for their general treatment of the Indians, is a question which admits of some variety of opinion. It is undeniable that the settlement of the Europeans in this country has produced the ruin and almost total extinction of the ancient people. They are correct in ascribing to the arrival of our ancestors among them, the greatest evils that can befall a nation. They, who had centuries ago, after a journey as adventurous as the voyage of Columbus, taken possession of these shores, as a country expressly designed for them by the Great Spirit, and had here become a numerous and happy people, have been compelled to give up their possessions to adventurers and strangers, and to retrace their steps towards the forgotten regions from which their fathers emigrated,—their pride humbled, their spirits broken, and their noble virtues exchanged for degrading vices,—in search of an obscure retreat, in which the remnant of their nation may drag out a miserable existence. It is no wonder that they remember with bitterness the day in which the Europeans landed on this continent, and reproach them as the authors of their degradation and their calamities.

But there is another view in which this subject must be regarded. However sacred we may consider the right of property of the natives to have been, in the soil of this country, we must at the same time admit their competency to alien it, for such consideration as they esteemed adequate, and also the right of Europeans to purchase. It is but the natural course of human events, that in dealings between men of different gifts and degrees of information, the party endowed

with experience and foresight, should make the greatest profit of their transactions, and without supposing any fraud or dishonesty in the case. It ought not to be supposed, because the aboriginal proprietor made an improvident bargain, that he was overreached, or that, because the ultimate consequences of the admission of the Europeans among the native inhabitants have been calamitous to the latter, there was any abuse on the part of the former, of the rights of hospitality, or a violation of the principles of justice. Nor should it be inferred from the poverty of the Indians and their successive alienations of their lands, until they have at last deprived themselves of their homes and country, that any undue advantage was taken of their ignorance and weakness. It is the certain consequence of industry, enterprise and skill, to prevail over indolence and ignorance; and for a people, as well as individuals, distinguished by these thrifty virtues, to engross every thing that belongs to their neighbours of an opposite character. The growth of the European settlers of this country, therefore, and the decay of the natives, are sufficiently accounted for, without supposing that the former abused their power and skill, or that the latter were oppressed or defrauded. The former, it is true, derived a permanent benefit from their purchases, because they knew how to avail themselves of all the advantages which they acquired; and the latter were always impoverished by the sale of their possessions, however ample the purchase money, because they wasted it upon their appetites and vices, and had neither self-denial nor skill enough to appropriate it in any way for their permanent good.

It is sufficiently well authenticated, that the founders of most of the English colonies in this country, particularly those in New England, were extremely conscientious and upright in all their dealings with the natives, and humane in their treatment of them. They often purchased the title to the lands on which they settled,—more than once of successive claimants; and if it should seem from the consequences to both parties, that they purchased at too cheap a rate, it is because the circumstances which we have mentioned were not taken into consideration. They purchased according to the true measure of value, for what those who had a right to sell were glad to receive as full payment, and generally without collusion or undue influence. It is not probable that the ulti-

mate consequence to the Indians,—their total extinction,—was at first foreseen. As soon as it was found necessary and practicable, provision was made for their preservation, and there are now in existence several tribes of Indians whose property is placed under the special protection and guaranty of the laws. To adopt this course with the whole body of the Indian population from the beginning, would not have been practicable, had it been thought necessary.

Certainly it cannot be charged upon the early colonists as a crime, that they came and sat down among the natives, with their consent, bringing with them the arts of civilization and the blessings of christianity, whatever may have been the remote and unforeseen consequences of that measure. They had a right to expect, and many of the early pilgrims did expect with a generous enthusiasm, that they should be able to civilize the natives, and to convert them to the true religion. Many noble efforts were made to this end, and not entirely without success, though it must be confessed that the fruits were by no means proportioned to the hopes entertained, or the labours endured.

On the whole, therefore,—although it is natural for the few remaining Indians, (since they could not be brought to enjoy the arts of civilized life) to regard the settlement of the Europeans in this country, and the establishment of an empire, rich in industry, knowledge and virtue, on the ruins of their nation, as the greatest of human calamities,—their decay and ruin are to be ascribed to their own mode of life, and not to injustice and rapacity in those who knew better than they how to improve the bounties of providence. They have been in general dealt with, by our countrymen, with exemplary justice, and often with much indulgence and kindness. Their condition has been always regarded with an eye of compassion, and a regret has every where been felt, that the wretchedness of the savage life was such as not to admit of alleviation.

Yet there have been instances in every age, from the discovery of this continent to the present day, in which some of the Indian tribes have been treated with the most barbarous cruelty. From the date when Capt. Thomas Hunt decoyed twenty-seven of the natives on board his ship at Patuxet and Nanset, and sold them for slaves in the West Indies, to the day when the Prophet Francis and the Chief Hemattlemico, were decoyed on board an American ship of war, and hanged

without trial, there have been individuals of our countrymen capable of committing acts which give too much occasion for the complaints which our author describes. Crimes have been too often committed against the Indians with impunity ; and they have sometimes been judged with too great severity for acts which were but a just retribution for wrongs they had already suffered.

It admits of doubt, also, whether the course of policy which is at present pursued by our government towards this unhappy race, is precisely consonant with those principles of enlightened humanity, with which it is our boast to be governed in our national transactions. Do we not press too closely upon their footsteps, as they retreat to the wilderness ? The progress of their depopulation and extermination was probably never more rapid than it is at the present moment. Treaties are negotiated almost every day 'for extinguishing the Indian title,' as it is called, in extensive tracts of country ; and each negotiation of this kind is one step towards extinguishing the Indian race and name. That they should become extinct is inevitable. That they should be overwhelmed by the growth of a contiguous civilized nation, unless they can themselves adopt the arts of civilized life, may be considered an uncontrollable law of nature. But this cannot excuse us for pressing upon them with indecent haste. If they must perish, let them die a natural, and not a violent death.

Mr. Heckewelder represents the Indians in a much more favourable light than that in which we have been accustomed to regard them. This is perhaps the natural consequence of his greater intimacy with them. His situation among them would naturally dispose him to feel towards them something like the sentiments of a father towards his children. He has been able to sow good seed among them, which for want of culture has produced no fruit ; to observe their want of the lights and the motives which govern the conduct of civilized men, and to judge them by a standard graduated in some measure by their own imperfect sense of right and duty. It is more pleasant, as well as more instructive, to be presented with such views of the character of any people. It gives us a more gratifying as well as a fairer estimate of human nature, and enables us to appreciate more correctly the effect and value of education and refinement.

He represents them as a religious people. 'The Indian,' says he, 'considers himself as being created by an all-powerful, wise and benevolent Mannitto; all that he possesses, all that he enjoys, he looks upon as given to him or allotted for his use, by the Great Spirit who gave him life; he therefore believes it to be his duty to adore and worship his creator and benefactor; to acknowledge with gratitude his past favours, thank him for present blessings, and solicit the continuation of his good will.' And again, he says, 'habitual devotion to the great first cause, and a strong feeling of gratitude for the benefits which he confers, is one of the prominent traits which characterize the mind of the untutored Indian.' This sentiment is strengthened among them by their mode of education.

'The first step that parents take towards the education of their children, is to prepare them for future happiness, by impressing upon their tender minds, that they are indebted for their existence to a great, good and benevolent Spirit, who not only has given them life, but has ordained them for certain great purposes. That he has given them a fertile, extensive country, well stocked with game of every kind for their subsistence, and that by one of his inferior spirits he has also sent down to them from above, corn, pumpkins, squashes, beans and other vegetables for their nourishment; all which blessings their ancestors have enjoyed for a great number of ages. That this Great Spirit looks down upon the Indians, to see whether they are grateful to him and make him a due return for the many benefits he has bestowed, and therefore that it is their duty to show their thankfulness by worshipping him, and doing that which is pleasing in his sight.' p. 99.

The author goes on to describe the course of their education. Next to a sense of gratitude and reverence for the Supreme Being and of the importance of doing good and avoiding evil for the purpose of pleasing him, care is taken to impress them with a respect for the aged and for their superiors. For their deference to age they are very remarkable, and a variety of anecdotes are related to illustrate this trait of character. The authority of the parent is not supported by compulsory methods and violent punishments, but by persuasions, and appeals to the pride and ambition of the child. Parents are assisted in maintaining their control over their children, and in instilling into them just senti-

ments, by the whole community, who for this purpose take every occasion to commend the good and censure the bad.

In their mutual intercourse, they treat one another with great civility. Their dealings with one another are carried on with perfect good nature, and seldom lead to quarrelling or complaining. They are cheerful and social in their disposition ; patient and resigned to accidents ; seldom charging one another with being in fault, although they suffer from another's carelessness ; and decide with calmness between an accident, and a wilful act.

‘ I do not believe,’ says the author, ‘ that there exists a people more attentive to paying common civilities to each other than the Indians are ; but this, from a want of understanding their language, as well as their customs and manners, generally escapes the notice of travellers, although some of them, better observers than the rest, have touched upon this subject. In more than one hundred instances, I have with astonishment and delight witnessed the attention paid to a person entering the house of another, where in the first instance he is desired to seat himself, with the words, “ sit down, my friend,” if he is a stranger, or no relation ; but if a relation, the proper title is added. A person is never left standing, there are seats for all ; and if a dozen should follow each other in succession, all are provided with seats, and the stranger, if a white person, with the best. The tobacco pouch next is handed round ; it is the first treat, as with us a glass of wine or brandy. Without a single word passing between the man and his wife, she will go about preparing some victuals for the company, and having served the visitors, will retire to a neighbour's house, to inform the family of the visit with which her husband is honoured, never grumbling on account of their eating up the provisions, even if it were what she had cooked for her own family, considering the friendly visit well worth this small trouble and expense.’ pp. 137, 138.

Our author corrects the prevailing impression with respect to the comparative condition of the Indian women. Marriage among them is contracted only during pleasure, and may be terminated at the will of either party. The connexion is not therefore formed with any vows or ceremonies. The duties of the two parties in the married state are distinctly defined. The husband builds the house for them to dwell in, provides the necessary implements of husbandry, and a canoe. The wife brings with her a kettle and other articles of cooking

furniture. The husband feels bound to support the family so far as it depends on the produce of hunting, trapping and fishing, and the wife takes upon herself the labours of the field. The former, besides being the most laborious, is, in their mode of living, much the most important part of duty. The labours of housekeeping and cooking are very trifling; and if the task of the women were confined to these, they would have very little employment. It falls to their share of labour therefore to plant and gather the corn, to collect fuel, and, when they accompany their husbands in hunting or on a journey, to carry a pack, containing materials for their mutual convenience. This labour is cheerfully performed, and they are under no constraint or compulsion. They regard the labours of the husband (as they are in fact) as much more fatiguing and dangerous. The skins and peltry are usually sold or bartered by the wife, who procures in exchange for them necessaries for the family. The produce of the harvest, although gathered by the wife, is considered as belonging to the husband, and he is at liberty to dispose of it at pleasure. Every thing in a family has an individual owner. A horse, cow, dog, or chicken is owned exclusively by the husband, wife, or child, and the master of a family will frequently ask his wife or child for the loan of a horse or dog; so that the author remarks, that 'while the principle of community of goods prevails in the state, the rights of property are acknowledged among the members of a family.'

The Indian loves his wife, and seldom quarrels with her. He is fond of seeing her well dressed, and often makes great sacrifices to gratify her.

'In the year 1762,' says Mr. Heckewelder, 'I was witness to a remarkable instance of the disposition of Indians to indulge their wives. There was a famine in the land, and a sick Indian woman expressed a great desire for a mess of Indian corn. Her husband having heard that a trader at Lower Sandusky had a little, set off on horseback for that place, one hundred miles distant, and returned with as much corn as filled the crown of his hat, for which he gave his horse in exchange, and came home on foot, bringing his saddle back with him.' pp. 148, 149.

'Marriages are proposed and concluded in different ways. The parents on both sides, having observed an attachment between two young persons, negotiate for them. This generally commences from the house where the bridegroom lives, whose

mother is the negotiatrix for him, and begins her duties by taking a good leg of venison, or bear's meat, or something else of the same kind, to the house where the bride dwells, not forgetting to mention, that her son has killed it: in return for this the mother of the bride, if she otherwise approves of the match, which she well understands by the presents to be intended, will prepare a good dish of victuals, the produce of the labour of *woman*, such as beans, Indian corn, or the like, and then taking it to the house where the bridegroom lives, will say, "This is the produce of my daughter's field;" and she also prepared it. If afterwards the mothers of the parties are enabled to tell the good news to each other, that the young people have pronounced that which was sent them *very good*, the bargain is struck.' pp. 150, 151.

'The men who have no parents to negotiate for them, or otherwise choose to manage the matter for themselves, have two simple ways of attaining their object. The first is by stepping up to the woman whom they wish to marry, saying, "If you are willing, I will take you as wife!" When if she answer in the affirmative, she either goes with him immediately, or meets him at an appointed time and place.' p. 151.

The other mode of making the negotiation is thus related in the language of an aged Indian. 'Indian, when he see industrious squaw which he like, he go to *him*, place his two fore-fingers close aside each other, make two look like one—look squaw in the face—see *him* smile—which is all one, *he* say *yes*! so he take *him* home—no danger he be cross—no! no! squaw know too well what he do, if *he* cross!—throw *him* away and take another. Squaw love to eat meat—no husband no meat.' p. 152.

The author has recorded a variety of amusing remarks, such as the Indians are accustomed to make upon the white people. The following extracts exhibit some specimens of the judgments which they form of their more civilized brethren.

'They will not admit that the whites are superior beings. They say that the hair of their heads, their features, the various colours of their eyes, evince that they are not like themselves, the Lenni Lenape, an *original people*, a race of men that has existed unchanged from the beginning of time; but they are a *mixed* race, and therefore a *troublesome* one; wherever they may be, the Great Spirit, knowing the wickedness of their disposition, found it necessary to give them a great Book,* and taught them how to

* The Bible.

read it, that they might know and observe what he wished them to do and abstain from. But they, the Indians, have no need of any such book to let them know the will of their Maker; they find it engraved on their own hearts; they have had sufficient discernment given to them to distinguish good from evil, and by following that guide, they are sure not to err.' p. 178.

'Among us,' they say, 'only one person speaks at a time, and the others listen to him until he has done; after which, and not before, another begins to speak. They say also that the whites speak too much, and that much talk disgraces a man, and is fit only for women. On this subject they shrewdly observe, that it is well for the whites that they have the art of writing, and can write down their words and speeches; for had they, like themselves, to transmit them to posterity by means of strings and belts of wampum, they would want for their own use all the wampum that could be made, and none would be left for the Indians.

'They wonder that the white people are striving so much to get rich, and to heap up treasures in this world which they cannot carry with them to the next. They ascribe this to pride and to the desire of being called rich and great. They say that there is enough in this world to live upon, without laying any thing by, and as to the next world, it contains plenty of every thing, and they will find all their wants satisfied when they arrive there. They therefore do not lay up any stores, but merely take with them when they die, as much as is necessary for their journey to the world of spirits.' p. 180.

'They think that the white people have learned much of them in the art of war; for when they first began to fight the Indians, they stood all together in a cluster, and suffered themselves to be shot down like turkeys.' p. 183.

The Indian commonly makes two meals in a day. The hunter prefers seeking his game on an empty stomach. Hunger stimulates him to exertion, by reminding him of his wants. He therefore resorts to the woods by day-light, and hopes to bring home some game for breakfast. His wife in the mean time pounds the corn, and boils it, or bakes the bread, but if he does not return by ten o'clock, the family make their repast. If he is unsuccessful, he continues his search, and sometimes remains several days without a morsel of food. They are very particular in their choice of meats, and very clean in their cookery. They broil their meat on clean coals, and bake their cakes in clean hot ashes, made if possible from dry oak barks. Their bread is of two kinds. One is

made of green corn, when in the milk, which is pounded or mashed, put in broad corn blades, and baked in the ashes ; the other is made of the ripe corn, which is pounded as fine as possible, sifted and kneaded into dough, and made into cakes of about six inches in diameter and an inch in thickness. The Indian corn also furnishes them another kind of food called *Psindumocan* or *Tassmanane*, which is very nourishing and durable.

‘ They parch the corn in clean hot ashes, until it bursts ; it is then sifted and cleaned, and pounded in a mortar into a kind of flour, and when they wish to make it very good they mix some sugar with it. When wanted for use, they take about a table spoonful of this flour in their mouths, then stooping to the river or brook, drink water to it. If however, they have a cup or other small vessel at hand, they put the flour in it and mix it with water, in the proportion of one table spoonful to a pint. At their camps they will put a small quantity in a kettle with water, and let it boil down, and they will have a thick pottage. With this food the traveller and warrior will set out on long journeys and expeditions, and as a little of it will serve them for a day, they have not a heavy load of provisions to carry.’ p. 187.

The dress of the Indians was formerly made of skins, furs and feathers. They possess the art of dressing skins of every description, so as to make them soft and pliable. Their feather blankets were wrought by the women, by interweaving with much patience and ingenuity goose and turkey feathers, with twine made of the bark of the wild hemp or nettle. At present their clothing consists principally of blankets and other cloths procured from the whites. They often wear a variety of ornaments, and both men and women sometimes paint themselves profusely, the former in the most fantastical manner. The custom of tattooing is much less prevalent than formerly. That they may have a clean skin to paint upon, they habitually pull out their beards. ‘ The notion formerly entertained,’ says Mr. Heckewelder, ‘ that the Indians are beardless by nature, and have no hair on their bodies, appears now to be exploded and entirely laid aside. I cannot conceive how it is possible for any person to pass three weeks only among those people, without seeing them pluck out their beards, with tweezers made expressly for that purpose.’ This instrument was formerly made of muscle shells, but at present it is commonly made of wire.

They carry it always with them in their tobacco pouch, and whenever at leisure, they pluck out their beards, or the hair above their foreheads. 'This they do in a very quick manner, much like the plucking of a fowl, and the oftener they pluck out their hair, the finer it grows afterwards, so that at last there appears hardly any, the whole having been rooted out.'

We can touch upon but a small part of the great variety of topics which are treated in this work, as illustrating the manners and mode of life of these people. We shall note but one other subject, viz. their mythology. They consider the earth as their universal mother, and believe that they were created within its bosom as the infant is formed in the womb of its natural mother. Some of them believe that they existed in the earth in the human shape, others that they bore the form of the ground-hog, the rabbit, or the tortoise.

'Among the Delawares those of the Minsi, or Wolf tribe, say that in the beginning, they dwelt in the earth under a lake, and were fortunately extricated from this unpleasant abode by the discovery which one of their men made of a hole, through which he ascended to the surface; on which as he was walking, he found a deer, which he carried back with him into his subterraneous habitation; that there the deer was killed, and he and his companions found the meat so good that they unanimously determined to leave their dark abode, and remove to a place where they could enjoy the light of heaven, and have such excellent game in abundance.' p. 242.

As a proof of the extent to which these notions prevailed among the Indians, the author quotes a similar fable derived from the Iroquois, a nation constantly at variance with the Delawares, and 'whose language is so different from theirs, that not two words perhaps, similar or even analogous of signification may be found alike in both.' This account is found in the manuscript notes of Mr. Pyrlæus, who was a missionary among the Iroquois, and was taken in the year 1743, from the mouth of a Mohawk chief named Sganarady, who resided on the Mohawk river.

'*Traditio*.—That they had dwelt in the earth where it was dark, and where no sun did shine. That though they followed hunting, they ate mice, which they caught with their hands. That Ganawagahha. (one of them) having accidentally found a hole to

get out of the earth at, he went out, and that in walking about on the earth he found a deer, which he took back with him, and that both on account of the meat tasting so very good, and the favourable description he had given them of the country above and on the earth, their mother, concluded it best for them all to come out; that accordingly they did so, and immediately set about planting corn, &c. That, however, the *Nocharauorsul*, that is the *ground-hog*, would not come out, but had remained in the ground as before.' pp. 243, 244.

We have not room to multiply extracts, though we might, by doing it, add much to the interest of this article. The work abounds in facts and anecdotes, calculated not merely to entertain the reader, but to lay open, in the most authentic and satisfactory manner, the character and condition of this people. There is no other work extant, in which this design has been so extensively adopted, or in which the object is so fully accomplished. There is no work upon the North American Indians, which can bear any comparison with it for the means of correct information possessed by the author, or for the copiousness of its details. The Delaware nation, instead of being one of which we knew the least, is rendered by this work the most fully known to us of any of the nations who once bordered on the Atlantic coast. Though it does not embrace any particular account of the ancient inhabitants of New England, yet it will serve to render more clear and intelligible, the accounts which we have of them. In almost every point of comparison, we find a strong resemblance between the people here described, and those whom our ancestors encountered in the wilderness of New England. We had intended to point out some remarkable coincidences in the customs of the two nations, as confirming the opinion of a common origin and near relation, which we have noticed; but it would extend this article to too great a length. The ingenious and useful labours of the author of this work, and his learned coadjutors, in investigating the Indian languages of our country, will form the subject of a separate article. We can here only express our congratulations to the public, that the work is undertaken with so fair a prospect of valuable results.